



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

CITY DETERIORATION AND THE NEED OF CITY SURVEY

BY PROFESSOR PATRICK GEDDES,
University College, Dundee, Scotland.

I.

In attempting to deal with the great problem here placed before me, my first impulse has been to treat it in the abstract fashion suggested not only by the name of an Academy, but by the prevalent mental attitude of the student of political and social science as we have him on this side at any rate. But on reflection I see that such conclusions on the subject set before me as I have reached—say rather such inquiries as I am wont to prosecute—can be far more satisfactorily stated if something of their concrete origins and their individual development be at first clearly expressed. I therefore venture to make this paper primarily a statement of some of my own experiences of cities.

My earliest impressions of a city throughout childhood and youth were fortunately synoptic outlooks in the most literal sense, and thus so far anticipated, no doubt initially determined, the conception I have been seeking ever since, and in many countries, to elaborate, that of the Survey of Cities—the correlation of concrete observation in many aspects, with general views from distinctive points, and this for city by city, and in region after region. My home was on the hill-slope above Perth, and its windows and tree-tops, and still more the walks over moor and through wood above, and from crofts and cliff-edges to southward, gave an ever-delightful variety of impressions, near enough for detail, yet broad enough for picture. Clear as on a map, just at the tidal and navigable limit of its river lies the city, neatly bounded between two ancient parks, the grassy “Inches,” which run back from the river on either hand. It is on the right bank, with its “Bridge-End” on the left, a quarter poor and depressed at its ancient center, the start of the medieval bridge, but this largely screened out of sight and mind since the building of its stately eighteenth century successor by thoroughfares

at a higher level along to pleasant old river-lawn houses and up to later hill-side ones. Roads, still of country type, converge upon the town from all sides, still keeping much of their country beauty, while for the daily passages along the noble bridge there opens a choice of views immediate and remote: here the clear swift river, with salmon nesting among the pebbles, and yonder Birnam Hill and the distant mountains, now snowy against gray skies, or blue upon the sunset—the scene of which Ruskin has written so admirably, and to which “Modern Painters” plainly owes so much.

A small but distinct “New Town” akin to that of Edinburgh, and of the same late eighteenth century type, encloses the historic city, and cuts its modern streets parallel to the river; so that even its old High Street, though still busy, has for the most part long fallen into the second rank, and its companion thoroughfares, the spacious and the tortuous alike, into third and fourth-rate condition, with vennels and alleys known indeed from occasional boyish visits, but in which wonder passed into contempt and disgust more easily than pity. This middle-class aloofness which such “new towns” have so generally developed—in fact a notable element in that deterioration of old towns which is a great part of our European problem, and an approaching one in America—was further accented, here as largely elsewhere, by the presence in the most squalid quarter of a large proportion of immigrant Irish, who have been kept separated from their neighbors by their irregular and unskilled employment with its attendant evils, as also by their traditions and their faith, all unfortunately, yet inevitably, associated in the prevalent Scottish ideas of them. “Deserving poverty,” as of “widows belonging to the congregation,” formed another category of poverty altogether—what in later life one comes to understand as “C. O. S. principles” thus seeming established in the very nature of things. Presbyterian traditions have admittedly democratic advantages; and I can testify from repeated eye-witness that Lorimer’s well-known picture, “An Ordination of Elders,” with its varied types of plain everyday working-folk, each deeply spiritualized, is a sociological document as true to life as are the more generally known presentments of the Breton “Pardon.” From the joiner’s workshop, from nature-collections and the like, one came to know something also of the practical and intellectual élite which are still happily not infrequent in the ranks of Scottish labor. Still, the class-stratification

and class-feeling so characteristic of the English town have also too largely penetrated Scottish ones; and this class-difference found its boyish outlet in the class-quarrel of schools, which kept us of the academy silently apart from boys of other schools, save when this separation could be actively expressed in snow-time, in battles often Homeric. Another deteriorative element then—in that class-separation from childhood, which is a main curse of British education.

Under such circumstances the knowledge and the love of the city as a place naturally developed altogether beyond any interest in the city as a community; so that, despite all the happy associations of "Perth," the phrase "the Perth people" comes back in my mind as a term colorless, abstract, faintly expressing what I came later to know of them in their statistical and political aspect. I think I fairly understand my friends and contemporaries, their writings and points of view, professional or retired, legal or administrative, political or economic; but I increasingly wonder whether at bottom they are not persisting in limitations akin to those of my boyhood, rather than generalizing a riper experience, later, more human and more social. I wonder whether even the would-be scientific mood of the sociologist as I have generally known him, his detachment, his general principles, be not too largely derived from some such aloofness from his city's life, in fact a persistence of that blank unconsciousness of citizenship which is still in the ordinary upbringing of the middle-class juvenile? Is not this in fact also the main limitation of the "classical political economy"—that it has been *middle-classical*?

As naturalist and as teacher I now know how the boyish life of nature-study experience, of cliff and quarry, of garden and woods, of brook and pond, and the alternation of interest in their detail with that of widening landscape were the right preparation for later scientific studies of mineralogy and geology, botany and zoology, and thence for geography as the concrete synthesis of the sciences. I know, too, how the same concrete experiences undergo a further development, a maturer and deeper digestion of mind, and so give rise to such general ideas, morphological or ecological, evolutionary and philosophical as one may attain to. But while this two-fold experience, this development of one's ideas in concrete and in abstract science alike from nature study is a commonplace to every brother biologist, since his own essentially

matches it, I do not find this in anything like the same degree among my brethren of the sociological world. For them "Society" is what they commonly describe as the essential field and problem of their studies; and upon this they will all admit that the laws and theories of general biology have some bearing. Very few, however, take much interest in the actual societies of the regional geographer, still less of the local observer, or adequately realize that the ways of the field naturalist have to be taken over by the field sociologist. For the anthropologist, since Mr. Spencer's day, they have a certain respect, since the anecdotic and illustrative detail he so generously furnishes has often comparative bearings. This openness to the comparative method no doubt redeems the sociologist from the charge of mere abstractness—of being merely "metaphysical" in Comte's sense—yet it also shows that the "Society" he studies, like the "Human Nature," "Population," "Labor," "Market Production," or the like, which the political economist analyzes out from this, is at best a very vaguely generalized term—one essentially denoting, when we seek to give it back its concrete content, the mass or the average of the civilized communities of our own age, and of these seen predominantly in their urban aspect. But this content is given, and far more concretely, by the term *Occident*. For the politician or the publicist (unless of some exceptional type, pacific, esperantist or the like) this concept is commonly practically absent, his own nation and its civilization supplying its place—a limitation so far, but with a compensation which gives him much of his power and effectiveness within his limits. For here at length we have some one who thinks of a concrete and definite and particular city, since for him his metropolis, imperial, national, or regional, is coming constantly into focus. In the immediate margin of consciousness its foreign rivals may alone vividly appear; but in the background of even the most political of minds, the minor cities and even their "provinces," "counties" or otherwise exploited regions or states are never completely absent; while the administrator acquires his predominance through being the organ of the metropolis, controlling, governing and educating its subject regions and cities, or inhibiting, exploiting and so on, as the case may be. Even for this comparatively concrete stage and outlook, however, studies of special cities remain at a discount, and even in university cities throughout the British isles or empire the only regional studies which as yet attain any canonical

interest are of naturalistic character. Even local history, though frequently linking up with archeology and something of the dignity of the geologic past, is but rarely understood as the actual root stock of contemporary growths, still less as the very seed-field of social inheritances, which may be latent or reappear in a new generation, and this for good or evil, much as do organic ones.

Our old city had no lack of historic memories, though these were too little taught us. We knew indeed something of its Roman origins, and a story of Danish invasion and defeat. But for Scottish boys Edward I, Wallace and Bruce are the first really vivid historic personages, and too often the last. Sir Walter's "Fair Maid of Perth," however, has spread its romantic interest over the essential points of his story. The old city had been the capital of Scotland until the murder of King James I caused its removal to Edinburgh; after which, save for the Gowrie conspiracy, which every history of James VI and I makes so familiar, our annals practically ended. The great medieval church, partitioned since Reformation days into three sufficient parish ones, had lost meaning and interest beyond these; Greyfriars or Blackfriars were but street names, and so on; we supposed, as people do still "for practical purposes," that all this old history was dead. What has this modern county town, with its active agricultural interests and markets, its special industries, of dyeing for the most part, and its large through railway traffic, to do with its ancient history?

If, however, the reader will turn to any history, or even guide-book, of London, he may vividly see the Celtic dun or hill-fort succeeded by the Roman altar, this by the Christian church and at length by St. Paul's Cathedral, in its Medieval and its Renaissance forms; and then unmistakably to its modern uses and disuses. Similarly he may read of Westminster as the lowest Thames ford, the primitive trade-crossing, therefore, before it became a monkish isle, or this a royal palace. He will see how the building of London Bridge downstream necessarily drew off to it all the crossing trade and kept for it all the shipping; and so he will realize more clearly the specializing of Westminster as legislative and administrative capital of empire, and as spiritual center of yet wider appeal, as compared with the growth of London, still as of old the mercantile and financial city. Similarly if we motor out to see the country, our chauffeur will guide us along ancient roads and hunting parks

and over prehistoric commons. Now if such geographic and historic conditions of the remotest past have plainly determined, and thus still determine, this vastest and in some ways most complex and heterogeneous of human aggregates, and this in such detail that Londonography has its innumerable monographs and libraries, its societies, its lectures by the dozen, should not these geographic and historic factors be even more obvious in less grown and less modified cities? So it is when we return from Thames to Tay.

Above the bridge of Perth it is a short and easy hour's walk to the old ford of Scone, with its once royal palace hard by. Its abbey has vanished, but its ancient crowning stone, removed at the brief conquest of Edward I to Westminster, lies, as every visitor to the abbey knows, in the coronation chair; and thus not only came to mark the difference between the pacific and mutually respecting union of Scotland with England and her tragic relations to Ireland, but potently helped the Scot to accept this pacific union.

In a word, then, Thamesford and Thamesbridge, Tayford and Taybridge have become Westminster and London, Scone and Perth. These parallel origins have stamped upon all these their respective and broadly parallel histories; and with these, and here is the relevancy of all this discussion, their respective social functions and character, their psychology also. In a word, then, the qualities and the defects of each community are to be judged, not simply by a contemporary survey, but primarily by a geographic and historic one. For lack of this it is that Mr. Booth's vastest of civic monographs—his *"Life and Labour of the People of London"*—despite its admirable intention and spirit, its manifold collaboration, its accurate and laborious detail, its mapping of every house, has thrown after all so little light upon the foggy labyrinth.

II.

We now once more for a moment return to Perth; and there, hard by the modern railway station, we find the Roman "Pomarium," still a street name. We even see near by the apple-trees, and this no mere coincidence, for the row of houses where they most abound still keeps, some say since medieval times, its appropriate name of "Paradise!" But instead of going on here to further knowledge of the mingled good and evil which this modern town inherits from its environment and life-conduct in the past, let us rather select the

more difficult but more important case of the larger industrial city. For this purpose I can choose none more characteristic or more convenient than the seaport of the lower Tay, Dundee, whose rise in manufactures and population, as it became specialized as the central world market of jute industries throughout the past generation, is not only within its own living memory, but historically arose from a definite consequence of the American Civil War, with the resultant scarcity of cotton, and the vast market for jute which was thus opened. In any survey of the social condition of Dundee this staple industry is therefore the central problem—what need of going further back? What can local geography and history have to say to these present conditions, of an industry which brings its material from India and sends its product everywhere, from China to Peru? The social evils of the town are neither few nor small, in fact it has a tragic pre-eminence alike amongst Scottish cities and manufacturing ones generally. Of all industrial towns it has the largest proportion of working women and children and the smallest of working men. With this it has also the utmost irregularity of employment, since good times or bad throughout the world must swiftly react upon the length of jute required to pack or bag its varying quantity of production. To all these miseries add the ever-growing competition of Calcutta, where Dundee capital, machinery and skill have long been building up an increasingly formidable rivalry. So now Dundee unmistakably shows the dramatic point in the whole occidental world, where oriental competition is telling most heavily, and to which, therefore, the attention of economists and of statesmen, were these as yet adequately awake to such local problems, and to their importance as clues to more general developments, might with advantage be much more thoroughly directed. Assuming such economists, such statesmen to arise, and to grapple with these industrial and commercial problems, how impatient would they not be of the mere student of local geography and history, still more if he should venture to tell them, even after their Jute Trade Commission, that they were still largely failing to interpret the situation, failing correspondingly, too, to see the full possibilities of treatment of it, and all this for lack of inquiries into conditions far earlier than the present industrial ones, overpoweringly predominant though these now are? Yet if the gentle reader will again glance at his atlas and gazetteer, and look at our maritime situation

upon one of the few great fiords of the east coast, he will see that beyond this maritime situation it has grave disadvantages, some past and some present.

The river has a bar, while the open Forth is near. Fife, too, had its many ports, and Perth its own shipping; Montrose and Aberdeen were not far away, and even the inland agricultural valley of Strathmore is no true hinterland, but separated by a range of hills even now but little traversed. It is plainly a place, therefore, which has long had to accustom itself to distant markets, to emigration also.

With these disadvantages, however, have been associated an old excellence in shipbuilding,¹ which has been very naturally shared with Aberdeen; so that from these two towns, especially until the days of steam and iron, there came those famous tea-clippers of the British trade with Canton, whose annual race home with the best of the new season's crop was long one of the most notable events of the London commercial world, since combining business, speculation and sport in a way dear to the Englishman. It is thus a case of that social filiation we are tracing that our best known British yachtsman, whose endeavors to recover the international championship have so often brought his name before Americans should be a leading tea merchant of Glasgow and London. The widespread deterioration of business into sport, and often into gambling might also be considered here.

But as the yacht is of to-day so was the tea-clipper but of yesterday: and we must now go back to an older and slower, but not less seaworthy type of craft, the old-fashioned whaler, whose annual voyage to the Arctic seas is still characteristic of Dundee, though now only a single ship may go to Davis Straits or the like where a fleet was lately wont to sail together. In old time, records tell us, it was the Biscayans who led in whaling, and later those hardy mariners of Dieppe, whose fleur-de-lis still marks the north even for the British compass card. By and by, as the whale became practically extinct in the North Sea, the center of the most difficult and dangerous of maritime enterprises moved northward to Dundee,

¹As I write this, I learn that the Austrian Government has just carried off a picked squad of forty of our shipbuilding workmen with their necessary laborers, to the navy yard at Trieste to train their workmen there. Thus though for many reasons the Clyde is prevailing over the Tay, it is evidently not our workmen who are to blame. And here in fact is the old Viking life of shipbuilding and emigration, with both elements still in progress together.

and seems even now passing to Shetland and Lofoten, soon no doubt to disappear altogether. Little reflection is needed to see how hardy and enduring, how strenuous and observant, how cautious yet how bold, must be the type of mariner whom these voyages call for and train; and—what is the point for our present purpose—how fitted is this type of mind and character, on its return with varying fortunes, yet on the whole with comparative wealth, to the ordinary community during every winter, and mixing with the townsfolk at leisure, and on terms of no common authority—to set its stamp upon the general outlook, if not even determine the mental atmosphere of the town. Here in fact are the conditions of nurture for what is perhaps the very strongest and most virile variety of the “canny Scot” which the business world has so often had good reason to mistake for the Scot in general, steady, vigilant, foreseeing, adventurous, decisive, he does not wait on fortune, but pursues her boldly, if need be even with his harpoon. Here then lies no small element in Scottish business enterprise and surely in that of New England also.

But our Dundee manufacturers, it will be said, are jute spinners and weavers, not whale fishers. True, but these jute weavers of to-day were linen weavers of old; and until steam displaced sail this district led in sailcloth weaving for the navy as well as the mercantile marine, and still makes the tentcloth for war. How this association of weaver and sailor is expressed not only in goods but in men, how these types in fact are akin in every sense, may be illustrated by the contemporary detail that one of our largest manufacturers of to-day, who still leads in sailcloth and tentcloth as well as in jute, has succeeded a father who was at the same time Gladstone’s naval minister. This seems a mere accident when viewed from without, but is a normal instance of our social structure seen from within. So the added fact that the latest British naval magnate who retired with a peerage, said to be well earned as such things go, was again a Dundonian, may appear mere coincidence. Yet the least degree of local familiarity² will be found to justify and strengthen the impression here suggested. This, briefly restated, is the interpretation of the essential qualities and defects of this particular city in terms not merely of its present predominant manufacture to which the usual type of social survey at its best refers us, but, below

²Thus our nearest territorial magnate owes his earldom and estate of “Camperdown,” to the victory of his grandsire, Admiral Duncan, over the Dutch.

this, in terms of the long character-forming age of whale fishing, and thus in fact of the dominant Viking stock.³

To this in fact we owe not only our major industries directly, as of shipbuilding and sailcloth, and thence to finer linens, to jute sacking and carpets, but also our minor ones. This jute itself till lately came in great four-masters by a six-months' voyage from India. The same Viking enterprise brings us the Hesperidian fruit we transform into the orange marmalade which is our city's fame, so that you not only find it on every British breakfast table, but even as "*Dondée*" on the dessert list of your Paris restaurant. Most curious of our local industries under this gray sky, but in some measure also of kindred development, is photography. For here has been, for a generation at least, one of the largest and certainly also one of the best centers of landscape photography, sending out its experts throughout the world, printing their negatives in a huge factory here, and exporting the product back to the place of its origin. Is not even this the Viking lookout in a new and cultured form? The corresponding interest exists in landscape painting, but not in architecture nor sculpture, arts as yet unknown to Viking peoples. The city, save for the massive fourteenth century church tower of which Emerson speaks in his "*English Traits*," has few architectural attractions. The beauties of the great Hanseatic cities have inland origins; and such picturesqueness as Norse or Scottish maritime towns and cities may and do sometimes possess is more due to accident, age and irregularity of grouping than to design. Hence, though our modern Vikings, the manufacturers, have endowed and established a university college during the past quarter century, and this in some respects not ungenerously, the heterogeneous buildings dotted over our spacious campus are the jetsam of six or seven separate architects, good, bad and indifferent; while under this Viking régime, the writer, as botanist and college gardener, as would-be city improver also, is naturally afforded the most ample leisure to be found in the professorial world to console himself for the small result of his rustic preachings, his floral ministrations, by thus working out the sociological explanation of it. On the other hand, that the Antarctic exploration movement of the past

³For a very forcible statement of the qualities and achievements of this North Sea fisher type, see De Tourville's *Growth of European Nations*, translated by M. Loch. Sonnenschein, 1909. Also "*La Science Sociale*" (*passim*) and the various works of M. Edmund Demolins.

decade should have been initiated from here half a generation ago,⁴ that our zoological museum should be of the best, or that the American-Canadian seal arbitrations of past years or International North Sea Fisheries Commission of the present should here find the working expert—all these are natural and intelligible, rational because regional.

That such a study of the evolution of local qualities is the needful preliminary to the corresponding interpretation of social defects has now to be more fully shown. That misery of labor, and particularly of woman, which makes Dundee the very hades of the industrial world, and of which the consequences and aggravations, in bad housing, in disease and mortality bills both of adults and of infants, and in those terrible returns of insanity, vice and crime which are the disgrace of Scotland among the sister kingdoms and in the civilized world, are all here met with a degree of apathy of the prosperous and directing classes and of the working people alike which is so much marked beyond other towns known to me either at present or from history, as to demand an explanation and invite a corresponding special inquiry. The explanation has no doubt several factors. Thus the utilitarian philosophy, the so-called orthodox political economy, is very largely a regional product, for the essential thought of Adam Smith, of the two Mills and of Bain is as typical an expression of this East Coast as are Scott's romances of the Border. Such philosophy of life is only consciously taught from above after it has arisen in and from the general life below, and so is most dominant in those minds and lives which have never consciously given it a thought, much less read a word of it. Behind this, too, is the old callousness of the conquering Viking to the condition of the defeated and uprooted Celt; again of course not at all conscious, but all the more terrible, since for ages practically an instinct of each new governing class in its turn. But the people, the women workers, here so often barefoot and disheveled, stunted and starveling, beyond those of other manufacturing cities, have they lost all spirit and hope? There are moments at which it might seem not so, but active energies too readily pass off, sometimes to explode in Mænadic scenes on Saturday night, at New Year, or between times also; thus in the main the spirit of our city sits impassive, a saddened and silent crone, in sullen acceptance of what seem

⁴Cf. W. S. Bruce, *Oceanographical Laboratory*, Edinburgh, and W. G. Burn Murdoch's, *From Edinburgh to the Antarctic*, 1895.

falling fortunes. Whence then this mood of passive fatalism, so strange a contrast to the confident utilitarianism so normal to Viking enterprise? Is this not first the development throughout the years, and then the persistence through life, of the stoic endurance necessary to all fisher-folk, but above all to the women of a whale-fishing community who for generations have had to learn the hard lesson of starving along as patiently as they could, and to teach this to their children? At the return of the whale fishers of old, as with busy times to-day, an improvident revel is thus natural enough—but so is its nemesis in turn; and thus at length we reach the explanation of that condition of Dundee which is detailed in the recent and easily accessible report of the Dundee Social Union,⁵ which takes its place along with the better known volumes of Charles Booth for London, of Sherwell for Edinburgh, Rowntree for York, and Marr for Manchester, but which is, alas, the most tragic and least hopeful of them all. Hence its copious and forcible reviewing in the London and English press, and with such vigor as for a brief season to stir the local apathy, though this soon resumed the even tenor of its downward way.

Yet even with this outline analysis of past and present such a contrast as that of Dundee with Aberdeen is not exhausted. For here are two neighboring cities of similar population and racial contrast and admixture, and in comparative neighborhood upon the North Sea; yet the latter, though not without its drawbacks, is probably upon the whole the most advanced of the regional capitals of Great Britain, just as the former is in too many ways one of the backward and depressed. One great historic contrast is prominent; Aberdeen has had comparative peace throughout its existence; it remembers only one great battle, with the Highlanders at “the red Harlaw” in the fifteenth century, and that victorious. Whereas Dundee has known defeat and sack, massacre and destruction, and not once only, but again and again, from the Edwardian wars at the close of the thirteenth century, elsewhere the golden age of citizenship, and thence on to the frightful bombardment and sack which marked the Cromwellian conquest under General Monk, and with minor losses thereafter also. The silent misery of Dundee, and doubtless the squalor of old Edinburgh also, has thus been derived

⁵*Report on Housing and Industrial Conditions in Dundee, and Medical Inspection of School Children.* By Miss M. A. Walker and Miss Mona Wilson. Dundee: Leng & Co., 1905.

in part from their exposure to some of those ruthless waves of conquest which have gone so long and so thoroughly over Ireland, and of which the resultant passive mood has as plainly passed below memory into dulled instinct and habit, as does the active mood, still recurrent in the Irishman, into protest or policy. Where the local patriciate has been exterminated once and again, the heads and flower of families slain, the women in every sense ruined, that community, that city, as history shows, may too often need centuries to recover. That such cities do recover, contemporary Germany bears witness; but her cities still speak of themselves as only recovering in this generation of ours from the Thirty Years' War nine generations ago.

Viking conditions produce but small literary output; and as for the poor Celt, he reads his newspaper, but no longer sings; he has been through the board-schools of memory, so no longer remembers nor thinks. Dundee, with a population five or six times greater than that of Perth, has fewer booksellers, and these with smaller aggregate business; but an abundant and well-diffused weekly press, not only innocuous as such literature goes, but fairly strong in a vein of local color, rustic rather than urban, and of domestic sentiment, of which J. M. Barrie's pleasing writings may be taken as the characteristic blossom. The real expression of Dundee in literature, that of its essential tragedy, of the industrial and even earlier depression of woman, I take to be the "Song of the Shirt," and this not only as symbol, but in fact. For here Tom Hood, whose name and kindred are still with us, and whose first writings appeared in our local press, spent two or three unhappy formative years of adolescence, and thus must have first laid in those impressions of the misery of the woman worker, which he had of course opportunity of elaborating in his maturer life in London. Our few figure painters, too, have in the main the kindred tragic note, which indeed seems inevitable in our day along with observing and interpreting powers in any form.

III.

Our survey is still far from ended; and, as becomes the theme set me, its darker side has been the more prominent, so that some of the specific conditions both past and present which have made for deterioration in this particular example of town life should be made plain.

I am well aware that these historic examples from Scotland do not fit to any American city, though it has always seemed to me there is plenty of work for the historical observer and interpreter in America too. My whole point has been to insist upon the necessity of a local and Regional Survey of geographic and historic conditions, and of the resultant social qualities and defects together, as complementary, as interchangeable so far also. I plead that sociologists must labor like geological and ecological surveyors, and this over the length and breadth of their lands, and of the world, and must thence educe conclusions which may be the start point for fresh comparisons. In this task it is better to begin with the smaller and simpler cities, not the greater and complexer; hence I have chosen Perth and Dundee rather than Edinburgh and Glasgow, Paris and London; and I see I might have made my points clearer had I chosen simpler and smaller cities, younger ones also.

In adopting this treatment I am not denying the possibility of a more general and more comprehensive grasp of city problems; but I do strongly plead that this should follow, not precede, a survey, an intimate personal knowledge of many cities. As an indication of this more general method of treatment, I may be permitted to refer to my various papers on Civics in the three volumes of "*Sociological Papers*," the recent organ of the Sociological Society of London, as also to one or two briefer notes in its present "*Sociological Review*." As an example of complementary practical endeavor my *City Development* (Outlook Tower, Edinburgh, 1904) may be indicated. As convener of the "*Cities Committee*" of the Sociological Society, I shall be glad to hear from any who may be interested in that necessary, and I doubt not approaching, Survey of Cities in which it is our ambition to take an active part.